

Italians in Tanzania

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1. - INTRODUCTION

When somebody thinks of the Italians abroad the mind immediately goes to the large communities in Northern America, in Argentina, in Brazil, in Australia or in some European countries. As a matter of fact the history of the Italian emigration in the XIX and XX century is mainly constituted by the millions of Italians who left their homeland in search of a better future.

It is very hard to say how many Italians live outside Italy today. Estimates indicate more than 5 million. It is certain, though, that if we consider all the people of Italian origin (taking into account the second or third generation) the number becomes much higher.

The reason for this short essay is to prove that the Italians who have been living in very distant countries, in limited groups, have also achieved great results and deserve all possible respect.

So when the Italians who are today living in Tanzania reminisce about the past, they should know that many others before them paved the way for our country's esteem in Tanzania.

A global picture of the evolution of the Italian community in Tanzania can only be formed from the consideration of many individual experiences and memoirs that are not necessarily known to those who have recently arrived or to those who briefly stop in the country for a few years. It is incorrect to think of the Italians in Tanzania as a series of isolated individuals acting in a manner completely detached from the environment that surrounds them.

In particular we would like to mention the Italian missionaries who have been working in this country continuously for the last 75 years. Who better than they can prove that there is a good understanding between such different peoples?

The general picture of our community which results from the study is certainly positive: even in a country so far from Italy, and so unknown to most Italians, our fellow-countrymen succeeded in shaping an image of a hard-working and peaceful people. The intention was not that of making a "self-celebration" of the past; through the research conducted, we wanted above all to stimulate reflection and criticism on less studied aspects of our emigration to foreign countries, particularly of interest are the characteristics and the problems more specifically linked to small communities.

You will notice that some aspects, even though important, are just touched upon and they would necessitate subsequent studies. All the collected data derive from research carried out by the author; for more recent data, we often had to verify and correct by drawing upon primary sources with their personal knowledge and experience.

Unfortunately this method has its limits but it also has some positive aspects. Therefore, the author would like to apologize for all those omissions or those errors that he has inevitably made. The present research does not claim to be exhaustive but it has been conceived and compiled with the hope of leaving evidence for those to come, of everything that the Italians have achieved in Tanzania.

2. - AN OUTLINE OF THE ITALIAN EMIGRATION TO AFRICA

Italian emigration to the African continent has always been very limited. Even during the colonial period the flow was a trickle in comparison with the trend of other western Countries.

Between 1876 and 1976 some 460,000 Italians emigrated to Africa, a figure which is approximately only 2% of the total of emigrants (Favero-Tassello, 1978, page 12.)

Table 2.1 - *Italians emigrated in Africa (1876 - 1976)*

| <i>Period</i> | <i>Emigrants</i> | <i>%</i> |
|---------------|------------------|----------|
| 1876 - 1900 | 91,046 | 1.7 |
| 1901 - 1915 | 146,920 | 1.6 |
| 1916 - 1942 | 133,324 | 3.0 |
| 1946 - 1961 | 52,375 | 1.1 |
| 1962 - 1976 | 36,477 | 1.2 |

Source: Favero-Tassello, 1978

As one may note the two periods of main emigration to Africa coincided with the conquest of the colonial territories. In the first fifteen years of this century the highest flows are recorded. Nevertheless it is significant to note that between the two wars the percentage of the arrivals reached 3% of the total emigration. It is a known fact that during the fascist period, emigration suffered a strong decline, but the flows towards the colonial territories in Africa were encouraged. After the Second World War emigration to Africa suffered a drastic reduction and in recent years reached the values reported in Table 2.2. It is evident that the main migratory destinations continued to be other European countries and the American Continent. The flows towards Oceania were also notable, while the movements towards Africa and Asia were only marginal.

Table 2.2 - *Consistency of the Italian communities abroad - 1975-1985*

| <i>Area</i> | <i>1975</i> | <i>1980</i> | <i>1985</i> | <i>% (1985)</i> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Europe | 2,352,148 | 2,243,708 | 2,169,811 | 43.68 |
| Asia | 18,537 | 22,701 | 19,479 | 0.39 |
| Africa | 106,061 | 110,539 | 95,333 | 1.92 |
| America | 2,445,870 | 2,340,959 | 2,139,266 | 43.06 |
| Oceania | 303,803 | 450,582 | 544,124 | 10.95 |
| Total | 5,226,419 | 5,168,509 | 4,968,013 | 100 |

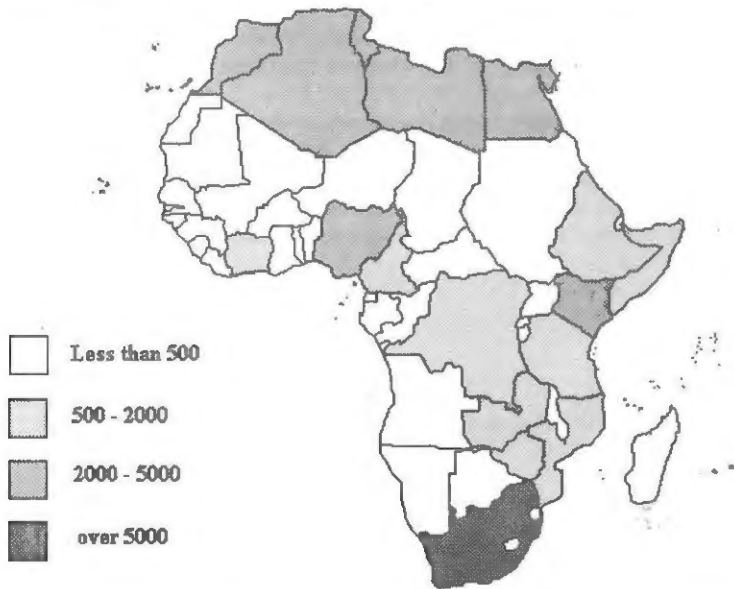
Source: Elaboration on data Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The size of the Italian communities in the different continents confirms the preference for Europe, America and Oceania of our emigrants. Only 2% of the Italians abroad favour the African continent and this percentage has remained substantially unchanged.

In fact it was 3.03% in 1911 (out of a total of 5,805,126 Italians abroad) and 2.06% in 1927 (9,168,867.) The phenomenon is even more limited if we take into account only the geographical area of south east Africa where Tanzania is located, as clearly shown in Figure 2.1.

In fact Italian communities in African countries seldom exceed one thousand persons. The main Italian communities in Africa are situated in some of the North African countries (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia) or in those countries of the sub Saharan area with a developed economic structure (Nigeria and South Africa). For the countries of south east Africa the estimates of consistency are shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 - Consistency of the Italian communities in Africa (1986/87)



Source: Elaboration on data Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Apart from South Africa, the Italian presence is limited to a few thousand people. The first possible observation is that in all the countries the presence of our fellow-countrymen presents a negative trend. It has to be underlined that looking at Table 2.3 in three countries out of the seven, the total size of the Italian community is about one thousand. Such a coincidence may cause us to have reservations about the validity of the data provided by our

consulates and embassies¹.

Table 2.3 - *Main Italian Communities in Eastern and Southern Africa (Estimates 1976 - 1986)*

| <i>Country</i> | <i>1976</i> | <i>1986</i> |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Republic of South Africa | 50,230 | 45,734 |
| Kenya | 3,411 | 2,302 |
| Zimbabwe | 2,996 | 1,109 |
| Zambia | 2,700 | 1,100 |
| Tanzania | 770 | 500 * |
| Mozambique | 661 | 993 ** |
| Uganda | 605 | 510 |

* estimate referred to 1984

** estimate referred to 1985

In particular, as far as Tanzania is concerned, in the last 20 years the flows of Italian migrants are strictly linked to the so-called "new emigration"² that consists in the expatriation of "workers, technical employees and also managers and entrepreneurs, for a limited period of time, directed in new areas with regard to the classical migration flows of the past" (Bacchetta-Cagiano 1990, page 16).

In actual fact while the "permanent" Italian community, meaning those resident fellow-countrymen who have established their main interests in the country, has decreased, the "technological" emigration has become progressively the main component of our community in Tanzania. Such a change in the composition has always made it more difficult to calculate its precise consistency. In fact the "technological" emigration, because of its nature, is not always easy to verify.

¹ For further details see also the volume "Profilo statistico dell'emigrazione italiana nell'ultimo quarantennio" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cited in the bibliography. The limits come from the source of the provided data, due to the difficulties encountered by the diplomatic authorities in their calculations. They are often obliged to make very approximate estimates of the Italians presents in the Country of accreditation.

² Other definition used to describe the same phenomenon is technological emigration.

3. - ONE CENTURY OF ITALIANS IN TANZANIA

3.1- From the end of the XIX century to the First world war: the explorers and the pioneers.

The travelers, and afterwards, the missionaries of the XIX century, even if they ventured to many other regions of Africa, did not show a great interest in the territories of south-east Africa. Their activities and commerce were concentrated, in fact, in those areas that were to become Italian colonies: Libya, Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia (Cfr. Del Boca, 1992, pages. 3-29).

The only exception is probably Gaetano Casati³ who, after a series of misadventures including arrest, succeeded in 1888 in meeting Stanley who was nearly at the end of his last expedition. The following year, after a trip of about nine months from Lake Albert across the territories of Tanganyika, Casati, together with Stanley, reached the harbour of Bagamoyo in December 1889 (Richards-Place, 1960, pages 214-230).

Table 3.1 - *Italian population in Zanzibar and in Tanganyika (1891 - 1924)*

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Tanganyika</i> | <i>Zanzibar</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1881 | n.a. | 3 |
| 1891 | n.a. | 6 |
| 1901 | 30 | 5 |
| 1904 | 35 | 10 |
| 1911 | n.a. | 10 |
| 1913 | 65 | n.a. |
| 1924 | n.a. | 3 |

Source: Briani (1980), MAE (1906), MAE (1967) and Tanganyika Territory (1932).

Around the same period, Italy had its first official contacts with the other territories that currently represent the United Republic of Tanzania, namely the then Sultanate of Zanzibar. The first treaty of commerce with Zanzibar was signed on 28 May 1886 by the Representative of the King of Italy and by the Representative of the Sultan of Zanzibar⁴.

³ A captain in the Bersaglieri, Casati, had been sent to Africa in 1880 by the Commercial Society of Information from Milan. Mr Emin Pasha (governor of Equatoria) requested the mentioned society to provide an officer capable of constructing geographical maps to join the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition

⁴ The events that led to the signature of the treaty of 1885 are described by the d'Albertis: "In April 1885, shortly after the occupation of Massaua, the royal envoy Barbarigo was sent to visit the island of Zanzibar, the coasts of the mainland dependent from this Sultan and to explore the mouths of the Giuba river; at the same time captain Cecchi, then consul general in Zanzibar and the commander of the Barbarigo, had to start negotiations for a commercial treaty between Italy and the Sultan of Zanzibar and explore if he was disposed to any territorial concessions in Somalia. The result was a commercial treaty in which Italy was considered as the most

Among the prominent Italians of this period worthy of mention, was Vincenzo Filonardi, owner of a well-known commercial firm in Zanzibar named after him. He was later appointed Italian Consul in Zanzibar⁵. It was Filonardi, as Italian Consul, who in May 1888 asked Sultan Seyyid Khalifa Said for the concession of the province of Chisimaio⁶.

Other Treaties, always of a commercial nature, were signed in those years⁷. According to the available estimates the Italians present in Zanzibar at the end of the XIX century and in the first decade of the XX century (Table 3.1) were a very insignificant number. This was due substantially to the limited opportunity of employment on the island.

The situation at the beginning of the XX century was different in Tanganyika (German East Africa). According to what was reported in August 1901 by Mr. Burgarella, Charge' of the Italian Royal Consulate in Zanzibar "In the nearby German colony of Eastern Africa, and more precisely in the district of Tanga, a number of Italian workers, thirty approximately, were working on the construction of the railway trunk line that links the harbour of Tanga with Korogwe town (about 90 kilometers). But, since the Reichstag has refused finance for the continuation of the line, the work is now suspended, and finding employment is increasingly difficult: for this reason not only has the number of new arrivals diminished, but some of those who were already here have had to repatriate or go elsewhere. [...] Italian emigration in these regions is mostly temporary but there are some cases, especially in British

favoured nation, but no concession of territories was granted." (d'Albertis, 1906, page 103).

⁵ The Consulate of Italy of 2nd Category in Zanzibar was officially instituted only on 29 November 1885 and the first incumbent was Vincenzo Filonardi, although requests and proposals for the constitution of the Consulate had already been advanced at the beginning of 1880 (MAE, 1967, page 353). On 29 December 1889 the Consulate was upgraded to 1st category and Giovanni Bianchi was officially appointed Consul General for a short period. In February 1891 eng. Robecchi Bricchetti, during his stop over in Zanzibar on his way to Benadir, gave this description of Filonardi: "...my friend Filonardi, who besides being Honorary Consul of Italy in Zanzibar, has also founded an important import-export house. This is our only trade representation: and the boldness and the perseverance of Filonardi, for which he has been rightly praised, brought him luck, since his company prospers and points to a splendid future" (Robecchi Bricchetti (1899), page 35).

The same author also reports the following biographical notes that highlight the particularly interesting figure of Filonardi: "Born on 23 December 1853 in Rome; he devoted himself to nautical studies and in 1880, in Genoa, obtained his captain's licence. He sailed for a year or two, visiting the Indies; then he decided to establish farms on the Eastern coast of Africa and to found a commercial firm in Zanzibar. After having saved enough money, he settled in that town where he soon acquired respect and esteem. Under Minister Mancini he pointed out to the Government, the wealth of the Zanzibar and the Benadir coast. Hon. Mancini, who wanted to appoint a Consul of 2nd category, chose Filonardi, and that was the beginning of his short, but bright career" (Robecchi Bricchetti 1899, page 88).

⁶ The negotiations were not conducted in a very diplomatic way and they ended in the severing of relations between Italy and Zanzibar. In fact the request of transfer of Chisimaio had been advanced as a consequence of the failed hearing to the Sultan to whom Filonardi was supposed to deliver a letter from the King of Italy. Seyyid Khalifa rejected the request considering it offensive and Filonardi found nothing better to do than haul down the Italian flag from the Consulate and break the friendly relations up to then entertained with the Sultan (Hollingsworth L.W., 1953, pages 23-24).

⁷ Among these could be mentioned: the Convention signed by the Charge' d'Affaires of Italy and by the Director of the British Imperial Company of Eastern Africa, concerning the concession to the company by the Sultan of Zanzibar, of territories on the Eastern coast of Africa and their successive transfer to Italy (London, 3 August 1889) and the proclamation of the Sultan of Zanzibar Hamid Bin Twain, in order to advise the concession to Italy of the harbours of Benadir (Gazette of Zanzibar, 22 July 1893.) The text of the proclamation is quoted by Robecchi Bricchetti, who also describes the events which led to the decision to grant Italy the administration of Benadir (Cfr. Robecchi Bricchetti (1899), pages 44-46).

East Africa and in the German colony, of settled resident Italians and in a good financial position. Anyway, our emigration, although not limited by any restrictive law, does not find very favourable conditions in this country." In 1903 the German government granted the funds for the continuation of the Tanga-Korogwe line, but because of the many workers that were already there on hand, the Italian Authorities dissuaded their fellow-countrymen from going there to seek jobs. In these first years of the century the Italian community, concentrated in Tanga and in Dar Salaam, was composed of 30-35 persons (Cfr. Table 3.1). In the following years the Italians also took part in the construction of the railway line Dar es Salaam-Tabora - Ujiji. Furthermore in the first decade of this century a few Italians were active in farming in some districts of Tanganyika including Pangani, Morogoro and Moshi. There were also representative agents of Italian commercial companies in many other zones for instance Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Mwanza, Tanga, Mpanda, Kigoma and Bukoba⁸. At the outbreak of World War One a number of Italians enlisted in the German army, deceived by the political alliances preceding the conflict. Others were interned in the prisoner-of-war camps of Tabora, Kilimatinde and Buigiri and suffered the temporary loss of their properties⁹.

3.2- Between the two world wars: the arrival of the missionaries and the settlement of the first groups of Italians.

The first flows of Italians to Tanzania started at the end of the First World War. These flows were linked to the phenomenon of the religious missionaries. With the defeat of Germany and the breakup of its colonial possessions¹⁰, German Benedictine Fathers, among the first missionaries to Tanganyika, left the country. In 1920 the Consolata Fathers of Turin settled in Iringa Region and constituted the first nucleus of Italian missionaries¹¹. The perception in Italy in the twenties of these "unknown" territories was mainly the one portrayed by some missionaries who, on returning to Italy, described the places and their potential for exploitation with the typical emphasis of that time. Among them is the significant report that Father Giuseppe Capra, envoy for a year in the territories of southern and central Africa, wrote: "These regions, British East Africa included, are rich and, even though they also suffered from the world crisis, due to the war, they can nevertheless be considered as possible consumers of many Italian goods. The Italians are esteemed here, as a result of the contribution of the flourishing Italian Missions. [...] The Italians could penetrate British East Africa, not only through more active trade, but through colonization. The transfers of ownership and of administration are still confused, especially in the former German

⁸ Even before the First World War Italians were engaged in the exploitation of minerals. A good example is the case of Raoul Mose' Bayona who arrived in Tanganyika in 1912 and settled in the area of Bukoba as local agent of the Italian firm Engeno & Co. of Mombasa. During the First World War he was interned by the Germans in the internment camp at Tabora, where he remained until this area was liberated by Belgian troops (September 1916). After this Bayona started the exploitation of a tin mine which he owned in the area of Bukoba. During the Second World War the mine was put under the custody of the British and Bayona was sent to a Prisoner of war camp first in South Africa, then in Southern Rhodesia. After the liberation Bayona went back to Bukoba and all his property was returned to him. He remained in Tanzania up to his death in 1964.

⁹ See also V. Briani, *Il lavoro italiano in Africa*, Tipografia Riservata del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Roma, 1980, page 188-191.

¹⁰ The League of Nations set Tanganyika under British Trust.

¹¹ For further information on the spread of the Catholic Church in Tanzania see S. Rweyemamu and T. Msambure "The Catholic Church in Tanzania", Benedictine Publications, Tanzania, 1989.

Tanganyika. The indigenous labourers want more land; the numerous Arab and Indian traders and farmers are demanding equal rights with the Europeans" (Capra, 1924, pages 158-159).

We well know that, despite this optimistic and enthusiastic forecast, our migration flows toward East Africa have always remained limited and can not be compared with the large migrations overseas preceding the First World War. Between the two wars, the activity of the Italians concentrated in some very important sectors for the development of the Territories of Tanganyika¹².

The coffee plantations in Moshi and Arusha and the agricultural experimental station of Amani also developed thanks to Italian commitment; our fellow-countrymen were also involved in the hotel business in Dar es Salaam. It is during these years that a Mr. Sibilia established a sisal plantation in Morogoro. This plantation, after many events linked with the war, was retained and managed by him until 1960¹³. Finally, worthy of mention are the activities in mineral exploitation of Mr. Bayona in the Region of Bukoba (tin) and Mr. Leone Bicchieri in Tabora (gold)¹⁴. Mr. Bicchieri, afterwards, settled in Singida Region and was granted the right to exploit a gold mine. Other Italians sought their fortune in the gold mines of Lupa (Mbeya).

The Italians continued to make a commendable contribution to the construction of railways. "The strong exchanges that took place between Tanganyika and its neighbours, led in 1926 to a suggestion proposed to the East African Guaranteed Loan Committee for the building of a railway to link the richest points of the mandate. This plan was implemented much later and it was a group of Italians, headed by Cav. Bicchieri (Italian Consul in Nairobi) who implemented the construction in the best way. It was completed four months ahead of schedule." (Giordano, 1946, page 314). The line built by Bicchieri with Italian engineers and technicians was the one that connected Manyoni to Singida Kinyangiri¹⁵.

The census of the Italians abroad which took place in 1927 counted 185 Italians in the consular district of Nairobi which covered the entire British East Africa, including the Territory of Tanganyika and the Sultanate of Zanzibar.

The small Italian community was influenced by the fascist wave that hit Italy. The census of 1927 also mentions the existence of "Fasci italiani" either in Dar es Salaam or in Morogoro (MAE. 1928). In Morogoro a "Casa del Fascio" was founded. In 1931, thanks also to the railway constructions mentioned above, the Italian community reached about 150 units (Cfr. Pellegrineschi, 1933).

¹² In order to know the immigration regulations in Tanganyika Territory see "Bolletino dell'emigrazione" of April 1925. Such rules were substantially dictated with the intention of preventing the entry of paupers, but did not contain particularly restrictive measures.

¹³ Mr. Pietro Sibilia arrived in Tanganyika in 1926 and, before settling in Morogoro, toured the Country practising many different activities. The sisal plantation in Morogoro was among his property confiscated by the British during the Second World War, but at the end of the conflict it was given back to the legitimate owner who rehabilitated it and brought it back into production. In 1960 Sibilia decided to return to Italy on the eve of the Independence of Tanganyika.

¹⁴ The latter owned a personal aeroplane which he utilized to flee to Italy at the beginning of the war in 1940. Before the flight he buried the gold that he had extracted. He recovered the precious metal, some years after the end of the war, using the map that he had drawn before leaving.

¹⁵ It was a branch of the "Central Railway" (Dar es Salaam - Kigoma) of about 150 Km. in a northerly direction towards Singida. The line was completed at the beginning of 1933, but because of the necessity to compact the earth after the rains it was opened to the public only on 1 April 1934. The line very soon proved to be uneconomic and it was closed in 1947 (see Hill, *Permanent Way*, page 216).

Table 3.2. - *Italians resident in British Eastern Africa According to the Census of Italians Abroad of 1927*

| | Males | Females | Total |
|------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| Kenya Colony | 78 | 56 | 134 |
| Uganda Protectorate | 7 | - | 7 |
| Tanganyika Territory | 33 | 8 | 41 |
| Sultanate of Zanzibar | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Total British Eastern Africa | 120 | 65 | 185 |

Source: MAE, *Censimento degli Italiani all'estero*, (Census of Italians Abroad) 1927

It is interesting to note that the opinion given in the official report of the 1927 census was very positive. It was in fact said that "it is overall a well-off colony" (MAE, 1928, page 324). In February 1927 the "Bollettino dell'Emigrazione" (Migration Bulletin), published by the Commissariato Generale dell'Emigrazione¹⁶ (General Commissioner for Emigration), gave the following opinion about migratory possibilities to British Equatorial Africa: "with much wariness and caution and with a clear contract of work, some Italian families could settle down. Favourably Mechanics, carpenters and masons can find work provided that they know the English language".

It is estimated that at the beginning of the Second World War there were about 3,000 Germans and Italians in the Tanganyika Territory, while the total number of Europeans was about 8,000 people. When Italy declared war (10 June 1940), all Italian property in Tanganyika was put under the custody of the British authorities. At the same time about 500 Italians and Germans were interned in the Union of South Africa¹⁷. But other Italians arrived in Tanganyika: the Italians captured in 1941 at the time of the occupation of Italian Eastern Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia and Italian Somalia)¹⁸ were interned in camps located in Tanganyika. These numbered about 3,000, together with 180 Cypriot Jews, 9,000 Poles and 500 Greeks (Pennington A.L., 1952).

¹⁶The Commissariato Generale of the Emigration was suppressed in April 1927 and was replaced by the General Directorate of the Italians abroad in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁷ According to what is reported by M.F. Hill (1957, page 254) the Italians transferred to the Union of South Africa at the end of 1940 were 58.

¹⁸ It is interesting to quote the testimony of one of them, Mr Carlo Malaguti on his experiences which was, probably similar to that of many other Italian internees. He reports: "At the outbreak of the last war I was in Addis Ababa where I resided with my uncles in Viale Mussolini. (...) Ethiopia was occupied by British troops. The occupying authorities ordered the evacuation and the internment in detention camps of all men between 15 and 60 years of age if they were fit for military service. The contingent with which I was serving was forced to leave, under armed escort, by railroad from Addis Ababa up to Dire Dawa; then with a British military convoy till Argeisa (ex British Somalia) to a camp. From Argeisa to Dar es Salaam by sea and from this city by railroad to Tabora (...) where there was an internment camp for Italian civilians coming from the ex colonies. In this camp there were about 3 000 people. After the armistice permission was granted to those who wished to work with the British. (...) I was employed by the East African Railways Department (...); the work consisted in tracing a road for a railway link to connect the mines of Mpanda to the main railway line from Tabora to Kigoma (...) my status was always that of a civilian prisoner lent temporarily to the applicant corporate body. Toward the end of 1946, in November, all the Italians (...) received the order to return to the camp for repatriation. In December 1946 I went back and presented myself to the camp of Tabora from where, together with other Italians, we began the return journey to our country. To Dar es Salaam by railroad and then by sea up to Naples where I disembarked on January 1947."

According to the data provided by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office the Italian citizens were interned not only in Tanganyika Territory (Tabora and Arusha), but also in Uganda and in Southern Rhodesia. The total number of internees in the area were estimated around 14,900 on 31 May 1945¹⁹.

Almost all the Italians interned were males and capable of working either in the agricultural sector or as craftsmen, but in the first period of internment they were not permitted to leave the camp and work outside. There was no tension or other particular problems in the everyday life of the camp and even when many Italians were occupied outside the camp, the situation remained calm²⁰.

Table 3.3 - *Deaths during imprisonment in Tanganyika (Tabora), according to the nature of death (1942-1946)*

| Year | Cardiovascular problems | Blackwater fever | Malaria | Suicide | Not Known | Total |
|-------|-------------------------|------------------|---------|---------|-----------------|-------|
| 1942 | 5 | 11 | 6 | - | 2 ²¹ | 24 |
| 1943 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 1944 | 3 | 4 | - | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| 1945 | - | 4 | 1 | 1 | 7 ²² | 13 |
| 1946 | 1 | 3 | - | 1 | 7 | 12 |
| Total | 9 | 23 | 7 | 3 | 18 | 60 |

Source: Elaboration on Foreign and Commonwealth Office data.

Unfortunately some fellow-countrymen did not survive internment. As shown in table 3.3 which contains the available data according to the cause of death, most of the deaths which occurred during the internment were due to blackwater fever (41%)²³.

From a temporal point of view we note a significant mortality rate in 1942, that is in the first period of detention and this was probably due to the adverse living conditions and to the hardships endured during deportation. In reading the available data it is important to consider that those prisoners who were badly in need of medical attention were transferred to the camp of Nyeri in Kenya, which offered better medical facilities. Almost all the deceased lie in the Italian Military Shrines of Nyeri (Kenya) and Fort Victoria (Zimbabwe).

¹⁹ In the consular archive of the Embassy there are several dossiers on fellow-countrymen who were interned in Tanganyika. Among others one remembers the application for a war pension of Mr. Andrea Rinaldi (born in 1913) who spent a period of detention in Prisoner of War camp no. 1 at Tabora. Other Italians did not have the same luck as Mr. Rinaldi and they died during their stay in the camps. A different source is the grave of Augusto Ascari, buried in the Irish Catholic cemetery of Zanzibar. Ascari was one of the Italian prisoners who, towards mid April 1943, embarked on the British boat "Sontay". He died on board and during a stop in Zanzibar, was buried there.

²⁰ According to what is reported by Pennington in "Refugees in Tanganyika during the Second World War" the attitude of the Italians earned them the privilege of having their own farm within the camp where they cultivated vegetables and their own workshop which produced violins for the camp orchestra.

²¹ One of them died in a train accident on his way back to Tanga for eventual repatriation.

²² One in Moshi

²³ According to Doctor Sannasardo, camp physician, most of the deaths from blackwater were due to the carelessness of the prisoners who did not adopt the necessary precautions. Blackwater fever is a complication of malaria that causes ematuria. It can derive from unsatisfactory hygiene.

3.3- From the end of the Second World War to the declaration of independence

All our fellow-countrymen who had been interned, were repatriated to Italy at the end of the War. However, some had acclimatized themselves and preferred living in the territory of Tanganyika so they decided to come back²⁴. They were certain that they would have greater possibilities and prospects than what Italy could offer them. The Italians were employed as craftsmen, or technical and civil work (mechanics and construction) of which the country had particular need. Some of them had already performed the same kind of duties during the period of internment. After 1947 the property of foreigners including some Italians, which had been confiscated and administered by the "Custodian of the Enemy Properties", was returned to the original owners.

The Fifties witnessed the arrival of other Italians who settled in different areas of Tanganyika. Some of them were employed on farms (cultivation of sisal in Morogoro, of tobacco in Iringa, of coffee and of pyrethrum in Arusha and Moshi). Others instead were attracted by the profitable opportunities offered by the mines, above all of gold (Gold Mining Co. of Geita, Tangold Co. of Musoma) and diamonds (Williamson Diamonds Ltd. of Mwadui), in the Region of Shunyanga. In the same period a noteworthy activity was carried out by the company M. Gonella (based in Nairobi) which implemented two important projects: the construction of some oil depots at Kurasini (Dar es Salaam) and the first sewerage scheme of Dar es Salaam. In those years some Italian contractors started their construction activities in Dar Salaam²⁵.

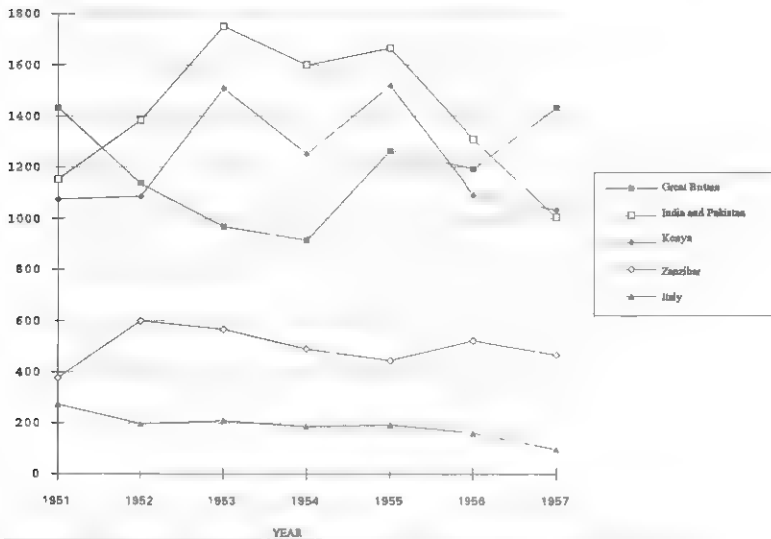
The census that took place in 1952 counted 17,885 European residents on the territory of Tanganyika of which 69.3% were British (12,395). The Italians were 1,071 and constituted the third largest community, after the Greeks (1,292), followed by the Dutch (515) the Germans (499), the Swiss (496) and the Americans (331) (Moffett, 1958, page. 303).

Even if the arrival of Italians in Tanganyika in the fifties (around 200 per year) seems insignificant, the examination of Chart 3.1. shows clearly that Italy constituted one of the main countries of origin of the immigrants in those years. It is possible to note, furthermore, the large immigration from India and from Pakistan which would lead to the formation of a very important minority active in the economy and the commerce of the country. Remarkable also is the number of arrivals from nearby Kenya (British citizens) and from Great Britain, charged with the continuing administration of the territory of Tanganyika after the Second World War by the United Nations.

²⁴ In some cases the Italian internees, above all those who were employees in the farms, returned to Italy with a contract that engaged them to come back to Tanganyika where they could continue, as free men, the activity that they had previously performed as "prisoners". Others were returned the properties that had been confiscated.

²⁵ Among them at least two should be mentioned since they are still active in Tanzania: Corrado Tognetti and Vittorio Biasci.

Graph 3.1 - New arrivals in Tanzania according to the Country of origin (1951-1957)



Source: Tanganyika under the United Kingdom administration (1956 and 1958)

Stirling-Astaldi, an Italian-British company was the main Italian firm at the beginning of the Fifties. The company's first important contract was the construction of the Namanga-Arusha-Taveta road, followed by the stretch linking Dar es Salaam to Morogoro²⁶.

In the mid-fifties, through the initiative of the Italian resident community, the Italian Club was built and inaugurated in 1956²⁷. At the end of the fifties the company Italwood was established. It introduced the first parquet flooring²⁸ onto the local market. In those years direct connections with Italy were provided by the Italian shipping company Lloyd Triestino, which berthed in the harbour of Dar es Salaam through regular passenger and freight services²⁹.

²⁶ The manager of the company Vittorio De Amicis contributed considerably to the success of the enterprise

²⁷ The constitution of the club was made possible thanks also to a substantial loan given by Mr. Sibila (see par. 3.2). The club, which in 1964 took the name of Selander Bridge, constituted a meeting place for the Italian community up to the first half of the seventies.

²⁸ The company, founded by Giovanni Montali and Rosendo Gianola, still exists today, but is not owned by Italians anymore.

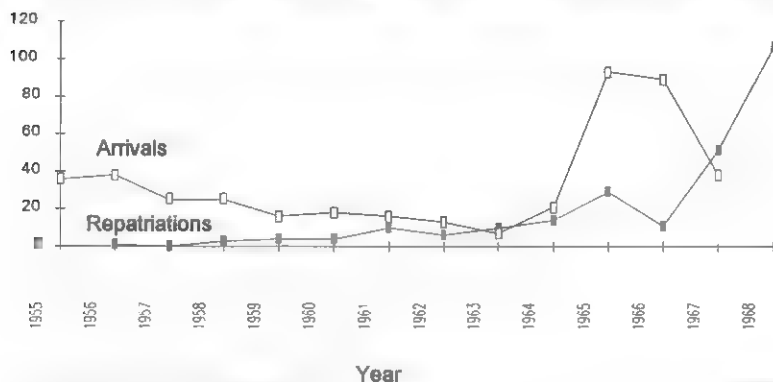
²⁹ Cfr. Report to the United Nations on administration of Tanganyika, 1955, page 81. In order to have an idea of the amount of transport practiced by such a company, it is sufficient to look at the data contained in the report. In 1954 Italian boats berthed 96 times at Dar es Salaam, for a total tonnage of 290.838, that set our Country in fifth place for maritime traffic.

3.4- From 1961 to today: the major works and the influence of cooperation.

Tanganyika gained independence on 9 December 1961 and with freedom began the trend of "africanizing" its administration.

The political changes soon produced effects on the numbers of our community. Graph 3.2, should be considered for the trend shown rather than for the partial data contained. From 1961 the number of repatriations started to get progressively closer to that of the arrivals and to exceed it in 1963. Even if the reservations previously made about the reliability of the data are valid, it is quite clear that there is a tendency which can be explained by the uncertainty generated by the new political order.

Graph 3.2- Arrivals and Repatriations of fellow-countrymen from Tanzania (partial data 1955- 1968)



Source: Elaboration on Consular data.

Immediately after independence in 1961 the Italian Vice Consulate of Dar es Salaam was established. In the following year it became the Embassy of Italy in Tanganyika³⁰. In the early sixties the first factory for the processing of cashewnuts, Tanita³¹, was established with Italian capital. It was a project of distinctive prestige since it introduced new Italian technology for the processing of the nuts. The sector therefore became very important for the economy and developed considerably in the course of the years through the constant presence and participation of Italians.

At the beginning of 1964, according to the estimates made by the Embassy, the Italian community amounted to about 1,400 persons (328 in the area of Dar es Salaam).

From 12 to 18 January 1964 a violent revolt broke out in the islands of Zanzibar

³⁰ The first Charge' d'Affaires ad interim, Luciano Falco, was appointed on 8 February 1962. In the following thirty years he has been succeeded by 7 Ambassadors

³¹ Such important investment was realized thank to the commitment of Carlo Martelli who for many years represented the focal point of the cashewnut industry in Tanzania. He also worked for the Tanzanian authorities as an advisor in many different important areas. He is mentioned also by Luca Goldoni in his book "La tua Africa" (1986, page 38-39) where the author remembers when he met Mr Martelli greeting him with "Doctor. Cashewnuts, I presume", paraphrasing the historic words at the meeting between Stanley and Livingstone.

(Unguja and Pemba) and led to the birth of the People's Republic of Zanzibar. The United Republic of Tanzania was constituted on 26 April 1964 by the unification of Zanzibar and Tanganyika. In 1965 many rights of concession on lands previously assigned to European citizens were revoked: such measures affected above all British citizens, but there were also cases of Italians who lost their property. In view of the difficult economic situation of the islands, the Italian Government decided to protect those Italians who suffered damage as a consequence of these political events. Therefore in 1966 the provisions in favour of the refugees from some African countries were extended to fellow-countrymen repatriated from Zanzibar.

The very high numbers of arrivals of Italians in Tanzania that are shown for the years 1964-1967 in the graph 3.2 could be deceiving. They are mainly due to the construction by Snamprogetti (ENI group)³², of the refinery of Dar es Salaam, opened in 1966. Before the building of the refinery a partnership (at 50%) was constituted between ENI and the Tanzanian Government. The partnership took the name of Tiper (Tanganyikan and Italian Petroleum Refining Co. recently renamed Tanzanian and Italian Petroleum Refining Co.). Tiper then decided to finance the construction of an oil pipeline of 1,700 km into Zambia (TAZAMA) from Dar es Salaam to Ndola. The oil pipeline, completed in 1968, was built by Snamprogetti with the collaboration of SAIPEM. It can be considered as the first case of Italian "technological emigration" toward Tanzania. As will be clear further on, the phenomenon has grown to become one of the features of the flow of our fellow-countrymen in more recent years.

In the second half of the Sixties Intersomer, in joint-venture with the governments of Tanzania and Zambia established the TANZAM company for the transportation of goods to and from Zambia³³. The company imported many Italian vehicles (450 Fiat trucks) and specialized personnel. In the mid Sixties the company Federici, in consortium with Stirling-Astaldi, was among the firms commissioned to build the dam at Kidatu.

The large number of Italian employees in the numerous works in progress involved a growth of the number of Italian families concentrated above all in Dar es Salaam. For this reason the Italian school "Dante Alighieri", was founded in 1967, initially only with primary classes, but afterwards, for a brief period, also as a lower secondary school.

Nyerere's decision on nationalization which followed the Arusha Declaration³⁴ took place in 1967. This had a remarkable effect not only on the economic life of the country, but also on the presence of foreigners, Italians included. Nevertheless the nationalization of 1967, which involved above all the banks, insurance companies, cigarettes, beer and metal work factories and sisal plantations, did not affect the property of our fellow-countrymen. Therefore no exodus of Italians took place.

In order to understand the economic state of Tanzania at the end of the sixties it is

³² Saipem, Nuovo Pignone, Petrochemical and Stirling Astaldi collaborated to the civilian and assembly work.

³³ It was mainly crude oil that was hauled to Zambia using special containers (bladders) that once arrived at destination were emptied and folded, leaving the flat bed free to carry from Zambia other goods (above all copper bullion).

³⁴ The Arusha Declaration of 5 February 1967 constitutes the basis of the policy of "African Socialism" pursued by Tanzania in the following years. The main objectives of the new policy can be summarized as follows: 1) fairer distribution of income; 2) rural development; 3) independence from foreign loans; 4) economic development through a state controlled economy.

sufficient to observe the data concerning the new arrivals of Italians in 1969 and in 1970. The data collected by the local Authorities (Table 3.4) clearly shows that from one year to another there is an abrupt reduction of more than 50%. The age range of the new arrivals remains constant with a concentration in the working class aged 30 and 40 years, with a large number also in the age group 20-29 years. It is interesting to note that in 1969 the 116³⁵ newly immigrated Italians in Tanzania constituted 6% of the total of the new arrivals which amounted to 1,833 individuals, while in 1970 the percentage, calculated on the total of the immigrants of 1,525 individuals, was only 3%.

Table 3.4 - *New Arrivals in Tanzania from Italy (1969-1970)*

| Age Group | 1969 | 1970 |
|---------------|------|------|
| 0 - 19 | 19 | 4 |
| 20-29 | 29 | 11 |
| 30-39 | 30 | 18 |
| 40 - 49 | 23 | 4 |
| 50 - 59 | 5 | 3 |
| 60 and over | 6 | 0 |
| Not specified | 4 | 1 |
| Total | 116 | 41 |

Source: United Republic of Tanzania - Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Affairs and development planning (1971 and 1972).

Starting from 1970 the growth of our community, strongly committed not only to large infrastructural projects, but also to investment in productive activities in the country, abruptly ceased. Most of the manpower at the end of the sixties was absorbed by SNAM for the construction of the Oil pipeline between Tanzania and Zambia. Other Italian workers were employed mainly by Tiper, Intersomer, Federici, Stirling- Astaldi, Tanita, Tanganyika Packers and Williamson Diamonds. The workers were concentrated in Dar es Salaam, where around 50% of the entire community resided, till the end of '69. Other important concentrations were registered in Mwadui (for the diamond mines), Arusha and Tanga.

The property nationalization of 1971 and that of the coffee plantations in 1973 affected Italian interests more than the previous ones had³⁶. Naturally the economic situation generated from the process of africanization of economic and commercial activities caused a marked increase in repatriations to Italy in the early seventies. Many of the Italians employed on the farms or in diamond extraction (Williamsons Diamond of Mwadui) were obliged to quit their jobs.

Many technicians and experts also left Tanzania. Therefore the presence of officers, managers, entrepreneurs and of tradesmen, was reduced, although a substantial group of

³⁵ The data of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs contained in the publication "Problemi del lavoro italiano all'estero", relating to the same year, reports instead 105 expatriated to Tanzania, of which 60 were males and 45 females. Such differences are normal if the limits of the survey and of the errors that such limits necessarily involve are considered.

³⁶ An estimate made at that time of the value of the nationalized properties was about 120 million Italian lira for the premises and around 60 million for the plantations. British, Indian (mostly of British nationality), Swiss and German citizens were naturally the hardest hit by the nationalization. In order to have an idea of the proportions it is sufficient to say that the provisions of 1971 and of 1973 affected about 3,000 properties and only 10 of these (7 buildings and 3 plantations) belonged to 8 Italian citizens.

employees and of specialized workers remained. It became clearer that the Italian presence was conditioned by the economic cooperation, more than by the real potential of development of the country. Taking into account the extremely unfavourable economic situation at the beginning of the seventies, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs extended refugee status to its national who repatriated from Tanzania, limited before only to Zanzibar, already mentioned earlier. In order to better evaluate the entity of the repatriations as result of the situation in Zanzibar after the Revolution and in Tanzania after the nationalization it is possible to observe the data summarized in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 - *Certificates of Refugee status released by the Embassy (Partial data 1971-1976)*

| Year of return to Italy | Males | Females | Total |
|-------------------------|-------|---------|-------|
| 1971 | 10 | 8 | 18 |
| 1972 | 14 | 8 | 22 |
| 1973 | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| 1974 | 30 | 20 | 50 |
| 1975 | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| 1976 | 11 | 8 | 19 |
| Total | 81 | 57 | 138 |

The Italian community in the mid seventies continued to be concentrated in the area of Dar es Salaam and in the area around the Kilimanjaro. In the regions of Iringa and Dodoma the presence of Italian missionaries remained important. Apart from missionaries the Italians were mainly technicians, specialized workers and employees in local companies.

At the end of the seventies Tanzania faced a serious economic crisis due to the combined action of three particularly remarkable events for the Country. Two worldwide phenomena: the increase in the cost of oil and the fall in price of some of the country's main export products have to be added to the specific local event of the war of 1979 against Uganda. These factors considerably affected the possibilities of work for foreigners. It is only at the end of the seventies that the Italian presence assumes a shape that it will consolidate in the following years.

There are five principal components that can be considered (in reference to the end of the seventies):

- a) Italian nationals who had settled in Tanzania before the independence of the country, with activities concentrated in commerce and small entrepreneurship (about 100);
- b) Italian nationals employed in branches or agencies of Italian companies working permanently in Tanzania, such as ENI, Incar (Fiat), Alitalia (approximately 60 workers with their respective families);
- c) Italian nationals employed under contract by Italian companies engaged in the building or running of industrial plants or civil engineering work among which was Strade COOP engaged in the construction of the Mtera dam on the Great Ruaha River (the total workforce of this scheme amounted to about 500 individuals, families included);
- d) Italian members of religious orders (about 300-350) (see Chap. 4.1).

e) fellow-countrymen engaged in programmes of technical assistance financed by the Italian Government (mainly doctors and paramedical personnel).

In the second half of the eighties especially, Italian cooperation increased its commitments which led to an increase in the number of Italians employed in companies engaged on large scale projects.

Italian-Tanzanian cooperation became significant in the economic and social sectors starting from the eighties. In 1981 Italy opened a credit line facility in favour of Tanzania for 50 million dollars. On top of that 3 million dollars were made available as a grant to be used for development in priority sectors. In the following two years Italy extended the range of its support, and decided to finance another series of initiatives in the agro-industrial sector, (particularly cashewnuts) and infrastructure (particularly road transport and railways.) There were also some health projects in Zanzibar and in the Region of Iringa.

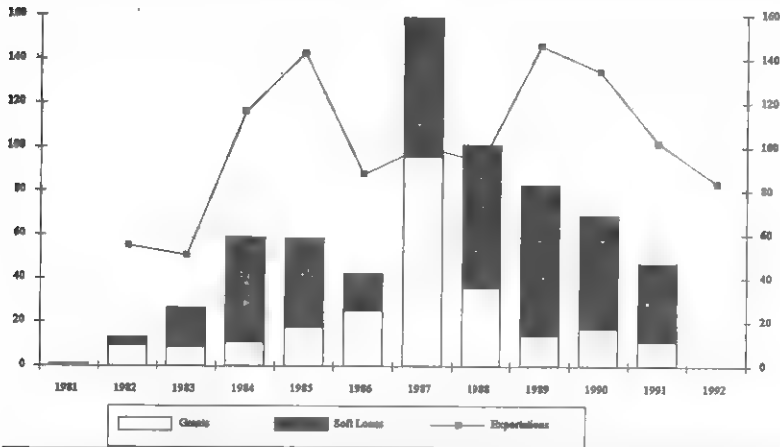
At the end of 1983, while the total volume of aid to Tanzania appears to decrease due to the contrast with the International Monetary Fund, Italy consolidated its own commitment to the country through new projects in the energy and infrastructural sectors.

In 1985 a new cooperation programme was worked out committing a total of 70 million dollars (28 million as grants and 42 million as soft loans). These commitments are mainly destined for the rehabilitation, the continuation and the completion of initiatives previously decided. With such an involvement Italy became one of the principal bilateral donors of Tanzania. For a few years it out flanked the Scandinavian countries, so long seen as the predominant donors.

In the nineties our commitment is decreasing progressively because of reorganization of our aid and because of unfavourable economic events in our own country which have brought an overall reduction in the funds available. Despite these problems the Tanzanian debt with Italy (over 300 million dollars) was canceled in 1992 but as a direct result, according to Italian law, Tanzania will not be able to have access to soft loans.

Some interesting observations derive from an examination of the trend in the value of the aid (grants and soft loans) shown in Figure 3.1. First of all it has to be noticed that from an examination of the available data, it is not possible to prove any correlation in the eighties between cooperation funds and Italian exports. In particular one notes that the years 1987/1988, two years of very rapid growth of cooperation, coincided with a period of stability in Italian exports to Tanzania which were less than the value of the aid given. In 1987 where the disbursed aid was around 160 billion lira, Italian exports were only 100 billion Lira.

On the other hand, in the years 1989-1990, in spite of a decrease in disbursement there was a growth in exports. Another particular in the trend described is represented by the fact that the exports of 1985 coincide with those of 1989 even though the levels of cooperation of these two years were very different. Examining the case of Tanzania it is then difficult to believe that the cooperation aid has been a determining factor for the commercial exchanges between Italy and Tanzania. It is probable that the determinants of the flows of goods and services between the two countries are to be sought elsewhere.

Figure 3.1 - Italian-Tanzanian bilateral Cooperation 1980 - 1991 (Disbursements in billion of lira)

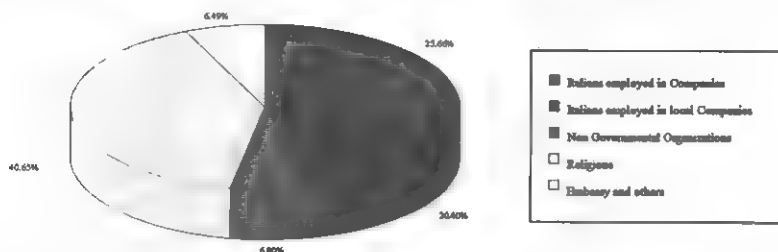
Source: MAE, DGCS Conference on development cooperation, 1991 and ISTAT data.

The process of commercial penetration can be successful only through a continuous presence. In the specific case of Tanzania it has also to be considered that Italians have been active all over the territory, without ever concentrating on specific regions. It has thus been even more difficult to keep a high profile and to consolidate commercial links. The uncertain financial resources and planning, that characterized our bilateral cooperation in the eighties did not envisage any continuity in the aid. With this situation the positive effects were enjoyed only in the short term, and there was no consolidation which could lead to long term advantages.

4. - CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY IN TANZANIA IN THE NINETIES.

Having briefly outlined the historical process which has brought us to the present situation, it is easier to understand the different components that currently constitute the Italian community in Tanzania and the reasons that determined its present composition.

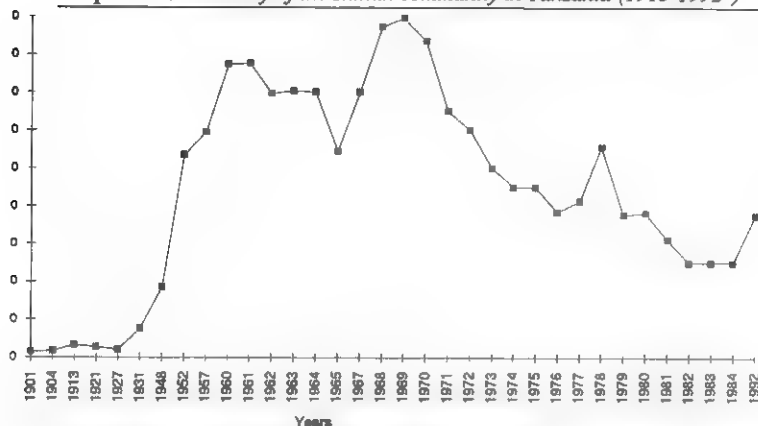
Graph 4.1- *Composition of the Italian community in Tanzania (1992)*



Source: elaboration of data based on assessments from the consular section

From a first analysis of the composition of the Italian community, conducted through the observation of the data summarized in Graph 4.1, one notes that the principal component is represented by the religious orders which constitute about 40% of the total, followed by nationals employed by Italian firms which represent 25% of the community. The third largest group of Italians is that employed in local enterprises which makes up 20% of the total.

The circumstances which have led to such a composition will be examined in the following chapters, but one can notice at this point that a considerable part of the Italian presence in Tanzania is now connected to our cooperation programmes. In fact the majority of Italians are employed in projects financed by Italian cooperation or by international agencies (European Union and World Bank.) Additionally a good number of the Italian volunteers and experts present in Tanzania work in programmes totally or partially financed by our cooperation. One can thus affirm that about 30% of the Italians present in Tanzania are tied to our projects of cooperation and are therefore subject to the availability of public funds destined for such purposes.

Graph 4.2- Consistency of the Italian community in Tanzania (1913-1992*)

* Up to 1964 the data refer only to the territory of Tanganyika.

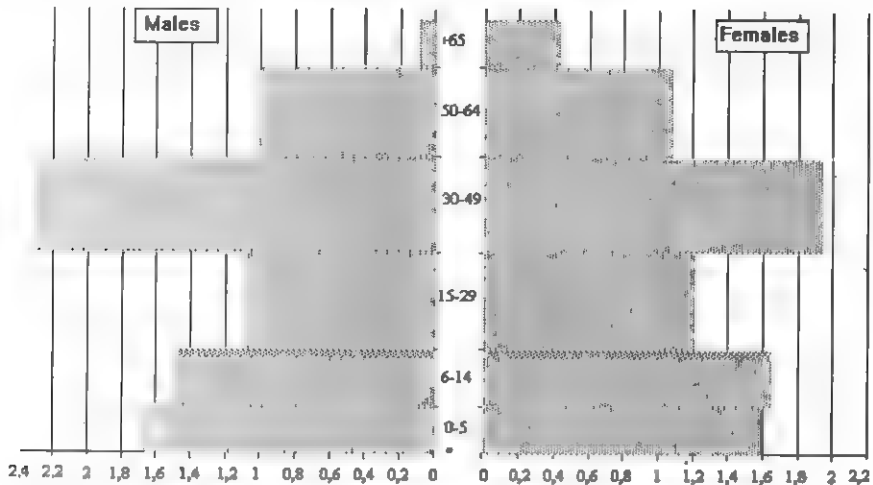
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs-"Aspects and problems of Italian emigration to foreign countries-" various years - Ministry of foreign Affairs, Emigration and Colonies, 1906 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulletin of Emigration, 1912 - Tanganyika Territory- Report [on the] Non-Native Census, years 1931, 1948, 1952,1957 - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Census of Italians in foreign countries, 1927. The data for 1960/67 have been obtained from consular records.

The data contained in Graph 4.2 refer to the consistency of our community from the beginning of the century to the present day. The data preceding the sixties refer only to Tanganyika; as already described in the previous chapters, these confirm that from the beginning of 1921 and up to the 1970s, the number of Italians present in the country was increasing, and reached its peak from the early 1950s to 1970.

Between 1971 and 1976, however, a marked decrease in the number of Italians was registered. In the years 1977-1978 a sharp increase is noted, probably due to the work on Mtera dam. This is followed by another decrease that reaches an estimated 500-600 nationals. One must bear in mind that the estimates are unfortunately often approximate and the numbers should be considered more in the sense of a trend of emigration in the different periods rather than in a specifically quantitative sense.

The age and gender structure of the Italian community in Tanzania in the year 1978 is represented in Fig. 4.1. One may note, the age distribution highlights a concentration of nationals aged between 30 and 64 .

Figure 4.1- Age pyramid of Italians in Tanzania (1978)

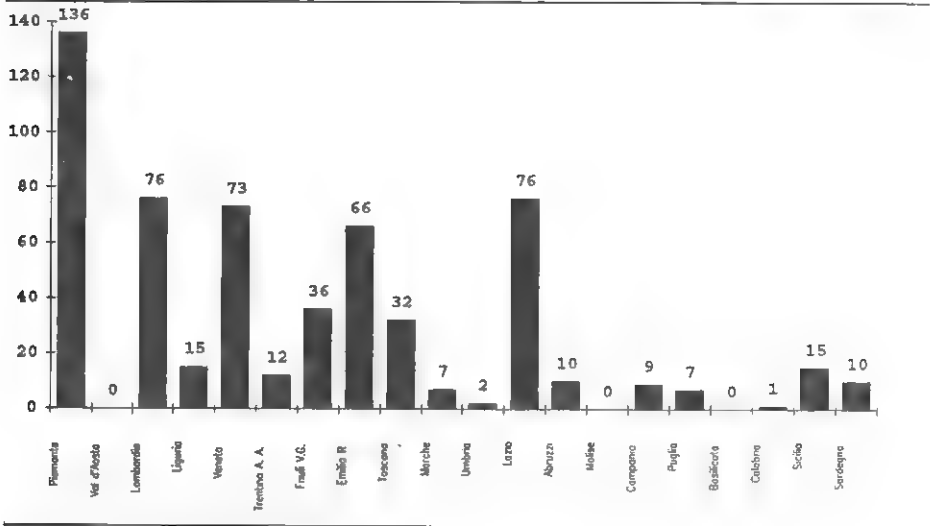


Source: Processing on Ministry of Foreign Affairs data

In particular the figure highlights a concentration of nationals aged between 30-49 which is often found in communities of workers in foreign countries. The number of nationals aged over 65 is very limited. In fact, the Italian population is mainly composed of people who are not destined to grow old in the host country or country of so-called "technological emigration", as their period of residence is restricted to the need of their skills. Another observation that arises from an analysis of the pyramids is that a large proportion of the Italian community is certainly made up of complete families, as can be deduced from the fact that there is no substantial difference in the distribution of the sexes. One may therefore observe a continued 'refill' assuring a relatively stable structure with ages remaining graphically unchanged in time as is shown in the pyramid.

The available data (although probably referred to rough estimates) on the regional origin of the Italians present in Tanzania are represented in Graph 4.3 which refers to 1991. As can be seen, apart from the province of Piedmont, there are no distinctive concentrations. The observed concentration is probably due to the fact that some important religious orders present in Tanzania have their headquarters in Piedmont.

Graph 4.3- Composition of the Italian community in Tanzania according to the last region of residence (1991)



Source: Elaboration on 1991 census data

5. ANALYSIS OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY ACCORDING TO ITS MAIN GROUPS

Through a study of the data and of the information available one can determine categories on the basis of the degree of stability, i.e. years of residence in the Country, of the individual components. The analysis will thus be carried out by studying the three major groups that make up the Italian community in Tanzania: those in religious orders, those employed by companies and Italians involved in Non Governmental Organizations.

5.1- Italians in religious orders

The group that is certainly most stable is that of Italians in religious orders. Once arrived in the country, they tend to reside for particularly long periods which almost always exceed ten years and may even extend to over thirty years. For this group of people it is far easier to effect an estimate of their numerical consistency, as one may assume that there are no notable changes from one year to the next.

The events that led to the arrival of the first Italian missionaries in Tanzania are linked to the first world war.³⁷ The 1914-18 war also had repercussions in East Africa and brought poverty, confusion and misery to all the missions. When, in 1917, the German army fled to Nyasaland and Tanganyika fell under British military administration, all the German missionaries were imprisoned or repatriated [...] Under the British administration, the Swiss Benedictines took over from their German brethren, and asked for additional help from Switzerland and from the Missionaries of the Consolata order of Turin" (Cortesi Tarchini, 1984, Page 38 - 39).

In order to understand the difficulties experienced by the missionaries at the end of the First World War it is enough to quote what Di Martino writes in his "Carteggio di un prestito per il Regno"(Documents of a loan for the Kingdom): "Once the British administration was established in Tanganyika, the Benedictine missionaries which operated in the Apostolic Vicarage in Dar es Salaam were all repatriated [...] Of the old Benedictine settlers only three fathers were allowed to remain, as they were Swiss. In the villages, the Africans became increasingly convinced that they could forget and close once and for all that period of history with all its evangelical zeal as the missionaries would never return."

With the resumption of missionary activity immediately after the end of the First World War in 1919, the first Italian missionaries arrived. Since then the flow of Italians from religious orders has been on the increase, so much so that in 1954 our missionaries in Tanganyika were 194 and constituted the fourth largest national group among the Catholic missionaries originating from foreign countries, after the Germans (370), the Dutch (298) and the Swiss (218)³⁷. In proportion to the total of 1,435 Catholic missionaries, the Italians, approximately thirty years after the first arrivals, already represented 13% of the total. The social and humanitarian activities of the Italian missionaries were concentrated in two areas which were very important for the poor population they assisted: the Missionary Hospital of

³⁷ Cfr. *Report to the United Nations on Administration of Tanganyika*, 1955, page 88

Tosamaganga (Consolata Fathers) and schools in different regions of the Country (Passionist Fathers, Capuchin Fathers and Consolata Fathers).

Table 5.1 - *Distribution of Religious in Tanzania according to their Order (1993-94)*

| <i>Fathers</i> | | <i>Sisters</i> | |
|---|------------|------------------------|------------|
| Consolata Fathers | 59 | Consolata Sisters | 72 |
| Capuchin Fathers | 17 | Misericordia Nuns | 25 |
| Passionist Fathers | 18 | Canossian Sisters | 15 |
| Precious Blood Fathers | 9 | Ivrea Sisters | 18 |
| Stigmatine Fathers | 4 | Precious Blood Sisters | 10 |
| Camaldolese Fathers | 4 | Addolorata Sisters | 7 |
| Rosminian Fathers | 1 | Saint Vincent Sisters | 3 |
| | | Camaldolese Sisters | 3 |
| Fathers from Dioceses of Bologna, Agrigento and Nicosia | 7 | Charity Sisters | 1 |
| Franciscan Fathers | 1 | Salesian Sisters | 1 |
| | | Carmelitan Sisters | 1 |
| Tanzania Episcopal Centre | 1 | Collegine Sisters | 5 |
| | | Pauline Sisters | 2 |
| | | Ursuline Sisters | 1 |
| <i>Total Fathers</i> | <i>121</i> | <i>Total Sisters</i> | <i>164</i> |
| Total | 285 | | |

According to data available for 1993, the Italians in religious orders present in Tanzania are 284, of which 60% are nuns. Their distribution over the territory is very diversified and covers large parts of the country, the highest concentrations being in the regions of Dodoma, Iringa and Dar es Salaam .

The main religious order is that of the Consolata with a presence of 59 fathers, being 50% of the Italians missionaries. The 72 Consolata sisters represent almost the same percentage of all the Italian nuns present.

As previously mentioned, historical reasons justify such a situation since the Consolata Fathers were the first Italian missionaries to arrive in Tanzania in April 1919. They had been present in neighboring Kenya since 1902. The first 4 missionaries indeed came from Kenya to temporarily help with starting evangelical work in the central part of Tanganyika. The limitations met and the difficulties endured by the fathers have been thoroughly described in the volume of Di Martino (1987.) In 1922 the four "pioneers" were joined by two new brethren and in the same year the Apostolic Prefecture of Iringa was created and entrusted to the Consolata Fathers who established their headquarters at Tosamaganga. It is interesting and significant to examine Table 5.2 which shows the location of the missionaries (and the distances they had to cover) in 1923, when the first Apostolic Prefect, Mons. Francesco Cagliero arrived. Evangelization was quickly expanding and, in 1946, the area of Iringa entrusted to the Consolata Fathers, already numbered 21,000 Christians (Oliver R. 1965, page 235).

Table 5.2 - *Distribution of the Consolata Missionaries (1923)*

| <i>Missions</i> | <i>Missionaries</i> | <i>Walking Distance (days)</i> | |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| Tosamaganga | Fr.G. Panelatti | from Kilosa | 10 |
| Madibira | Fr.G. Ciravegna | from Tosamaganga | 4 |
| Mchombe | Fr.G. Cavallo | from Tosamaganga | 10-12 |
| Sangi | Fr.P. Albertone | from via Mchombe | 15 |
| Bihawana | Fr.D. Spinello | from Tosamaganga | 10-12 |
| Pandangani | Fr.D. Vignoli | from via Bihawana | 14-16 |
| Mpanga | Fr.D. Ferrero | from via Mchombe | 15-16 |
| Merera | Fr.F. Sciolla | from via Mchombe | 12 |

Source: Di Martino (1987)

The Consolata Fathers are currently present in over twenty missions distributed in the different districts of Iringa Region.

The Capuchin and Passionist Fathers also constitute a significant component of the Italian clergy present in Tanzania with 17 and 18 persons respectively.

The Passionist Fathers and the Misericordia Nuns arrived in Tanzania in December 1933. This first group originated from the congregation of Passionists in northern Italy and was composed of five missionaries. The six nuns belonged instead to the congregation of the Misericordia nuns of Verona. They settled in the central area of Tanzania which currently corresponds to the districts of Dodoma, Kondoa, Mpwapwa and Manyoni. Even today the location of Passionist Fathers is the result of their initial settlement in Dodoma Region³⁸.

The first Italian Capuchin fathers arrived in Tanzania in June 1963. The group consisted of five fathers from Tuscany, to whom the District of Mpwapwa in Dodoma Region was entrusted. Initially they settled in Mpwapwa and Kibakwe. Their activities in the district expanded rapidly and the Capuchin fathers now have 7 parishes.

The Stigmatine Fathers settled in Tanzania in 1975 and are presently concentrated in the Kisanga area of Morogoro Region. Before that they conducted their activities in the area of Dodoma, residing in Hombolo.

Among other religious orders already mentioned as present in Tanzania, the most recent arrival is the small group of Fathers of the Precious Blood Order, which operates mainly in the Singida area.

Following the directive whereby each Italian diocese had to establish its own Missionary Association Centre, the Dioceses of Bologna, Agrigento and Nicosia have their centres in the regions of Dodoma and Iringa.

The religious orders of nuns however are more diversified. Apart from the Consolata Sisters, who first arrived in Tanzania back in 1923, the other orders of Sisters present are the Canossian, Misericordia, Immaculate Conception of Ivrea, Addolorata, Camaldolese, St. Vincent, Divine Saviour, Carmelite, and the Paoline sisters.

The Italian missionaries, fathers and sisters, with their "traditional presence" are

³⁸ For more details on the history of the Passionist Fathers' settlement, see G. Cortesi, P. Tarchini, *Africa, un'avventura di cinquant'anni in Tanzania*. Clusone, Editore Cesare Ferrari, 1984.

possibly the only people who appreciate the social realities of this country³⁹.

Our missionaries are scattered far and wide over the territory with the exception of Zanzibar which has always been a predominantly Muslim society.

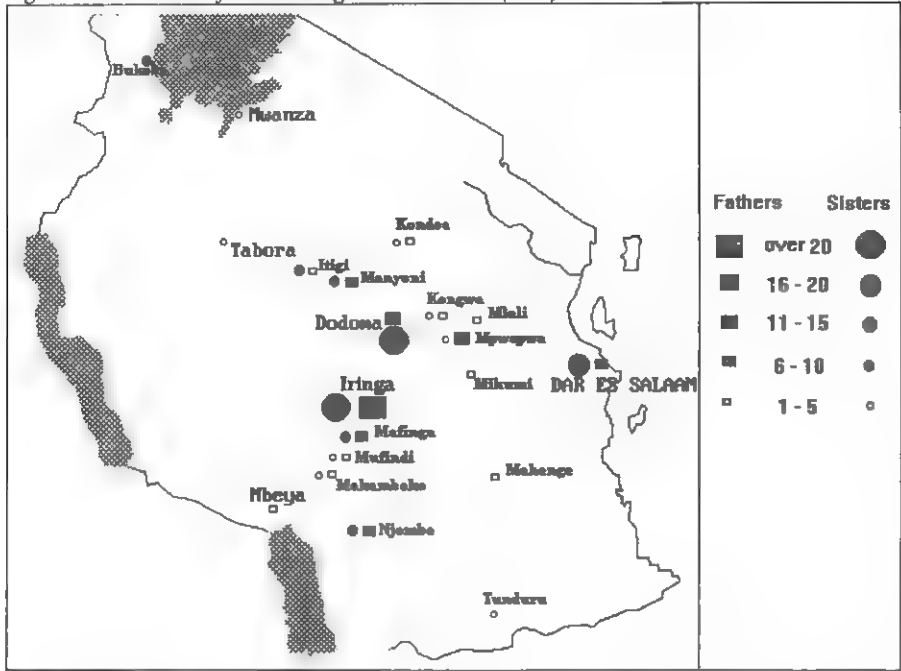
The continued involvement of the missionaries and their good relations with their head-quarters in Italy have provided them with the means to build churches, orphanages, hospitals and technical centres. Often in the past the Italian NGO groups have either assisted or were assisted by the religious groups.

From a study of the geographical distribution of these missionaries the tendency of establishing themselves in defined areas is quite noticeable. No longer does one envisage the missionary as the adventurer who sets forth into the forest in search of converts. It is true that such missions still exist, but most are today living in the modern world where communications and constant contact are readily at hand.

Another tendency worth noting is that whereby the priests and nuns coordinate their respective roles. By this coordination and long experience they have been able to strengthen their humanitarian actions and to develop the ideals of their orders in particular the Catholic Church as a whole.

³⁹ Many books about Tanzanians available in Italian have been written by Italian missionaries, particularly for the study of Kiswahili language (Vittorio Merlo Pick, *Vocabolario Kiswahili - Italiano / Italiano - Kiswahili*, E M I, Bologna, 1978 and, by the same author, *Grammatica della lingua Swahili*, E M I, Bologna 1988 and *Manuale di Conversazione Italiano - Swahili*, E M I, Bologna, 1988. By Gian Luigi Martini, *Kiswahili, una lingua per l'Africa del domani*, E.M.I., Bologna, 1984).

Fig. 5.1 - Distribution of Italian Religious in Tanzania (1993)



5.2 ITALIAN COMPANIES

To produce an itemized list of all civil and other construction work performed by Italian companies over the last 30 years is quite impossible because many different sectors of the economy have received contributions in the form of construction or rehabilitation by our civil engineers.

A number of the outstanding completed civil works have already been mentioned in the previous chapters, but it is important to have a comprehensive picture of the main Italian companies and their achievements in Tanzania.

The main project and possibly the first of its kind is notably the Tiper Refinery (Tanzanian Italian Petroleum Refinery Co. Ltd.) in Dar es Salaam which was built between 1964 and 1966 by Snam Progetti in collaboration with Saipem (both of ENI group). These two companies laid the oil pipeline from Dar to Ndola in Zambia during 1966-1967 and several years later (1973-1974) doubled the pipeline.

The Eni Group of companies also conducted several prospecting operations doing geological and oil research by seismic data.

The presence of Agip in Tanzania in a 50% partnership with TPDC stretches back a considerable length of time. Agip is today one of the major fuel distributors in the country. It has furthermore been seriously involved in oil exploration in different regions of Tanzania but has not been fortunate enough to strike oil. Agip (Tanzania) Ltd. was constituted in 1966 and is today the second most important company in the field after BP, with a fuel distribution coverage of 21% of the market.

In the early 50's the Turin-based vehicle manufacturer Fiat was introduced to the then Tanganyika under the agency of Boero & Biagini. Later on Fiat reverted to its original name until 1972 when the Intersomer Group introduced its new company, Incar (T) which took over and represented Fiat's interests in Tanzania. Incar expanded its market to include the agricultural sector and trucking businesses.

The early 60's witnessed Oltremare taking a foothold in the cashewnut industry. Through a joint venture with Tanzanian participation, a company was formed which still bears the name Tanita. A second plant Tanita II was commissioned in 1978 and 5 other plants have been initiated in Lindi, Mtana, Nachingwea, Newala, and Masasi through World Bank financial backing. The last plant to have been put into operation was at Tunduru.

Federici-Sterling Astaldi, among other civil works, constructed the Motel Agip, participated in the construction of Tiper (1965-66), the airports of Mtwara (1966-67), Kilimanjaro (1969-70) and Pemba (1973); part of the superficial works at Kidatu Hydro-electric power plant 1971-75, road works related to the stretches between Iyayi-Mahenge (216 Km) and Morogoro-Mahenge (229Km) which were carried out in the 70's.

Cogefarimpresit must take credit for a number of outstanding projects: between 1984 and 1989 Mtera Hydro-electric Power plant; the access road to Mufindi Paper Mill (1985-1987) and the road Lusahunga-Bukombe (1985-1987). Cogefar's interest has not been solely confined to the Tanzanian mainland but also to the neighbouring islands of Zanzibar and Pemba whose ports have been totally rehabilitated while a major road crossing Pemba from

north to south, was built between 1988 and 1992. Since 1993 Cogefar has been back on the mainland with yet more major projects in hand, i.e. the roadworks Bukombe-Isaka (in consortium with Federici) and Kobero-Nyakasanza.

CMC implemented the construction works of Mtera Dam between 1979 and 1981.

ABB-Sae Sadelmi have together established a name for themselves in the erection of high-tension power lines and the rehabilitation of the National Grid. Some of the areas which have so far been rehabilitated are sections between Makambako-Mbeya, Iringa-Dodoma, (Sadelmi-Cogepi)- Mwanza-Musoma (SAE) - Shinyanga-Mwanza. To date the on-going project connecting Tanzania and Uganda in the Kagera Region is nearing completion.

Condotte d'Acqua introduced itself onto the scene by taking on the construction of the headquarters of the East African Community building in Arusha in the 70's.

Impresa del Benaco constructed the 200 Km road connecting Mtwara to Masasi which was commissioned in 1977 and the highway from Rusomo-Lusahunga in the north.

Gardella built in the mid seventies two sisal bag factories in Moshi (rehabilitated and extended in 1978) and one in Morogoro (1979).

Besides these numerous praiseworthy achievements, there are a few others which were not completely successful. These are the shoe factory in Morogoro and the tannery in Mwanza, both of which were projects of Italmacchine of Milan, the and a brick factory in Dodoma (Bongiovanni).

Other similar projects have floundered due to lack of finance and qualified personnel, e.g. Uvinza Salt Plant (IDECO 1982), baked-brick factory in Dodoma (Sacmi Impianti) and the pesticides factory in Moshi (TECNIMONT). Another project which failed owing to adverse changes in market conditions was the meat canning initiative pursued by STAR with the then Tanganyika packers in 1976.

Table 5.3 - Sector by sector distribution of the Italian companies in Tanzania (June 1993)

| SECTOR | COMPANY |
|--|---|
| Building Sector | Cogefarimpresit - Federici - Italstrade - Stirling |
| Construction(mechanic, hydraulic, electromechanic, electronics, etc.). | ABB Sae Sadelmi - Cise - Ideco -Oltremare - Tubi Sarplast - |
| Consulting | Italconsult - Studio Cirillo |
| Transport | Ignazio Messina |
| Chemical and Oil | Tecnimont |
| Textile | - |
| Services | - |

It can be observed that Italian companies in Tanzania are mainly engaged in two classical large-scale sectors: civil engineering (mainly roadworks) and mechanical construction (hydraulic and electrical works). These sectors are therefore responsible for

nearly all the Italian workforce present in Tanzania⁴⁰.

Local companies employing Italian labour are all of a small size, being mainly companies which were founded originally by Italians and operated by single individuals or on a family basis. The only exception is Tiper, which as previously mentioned, is a Joint-Venture (50%) between ENI and TPDC (Tanzania Petroleum Development Company). Founded in 1963, Tiper manages the operations of the only refinery in the country situated on the Kigamboni peninsula in Dar es Salaam.

Table 5.4 - Sector by sector distribution of local companies owned by Italians in Tanzania (1994)

| SECTOR | COMPANY |
|--|---|
| Building sector | African Wood, Alisham Products Ltd., Artal, Coastal Steel Industries Ltd., C.S.I. Costruzioni Co. Ltd., C.S.I. Engineering, Domus Woodworks Ltd., Heavycom, Italframe Limited, P.F. Construction, System Building Services, V. Biasci & Co. Ltd. |
| Construction (mechanic, hydraulic, electromecanic, electronics, etc.). | R.O.C.I. Ltd., Severino Engineering , |
| Transport | Africall (T) Ltd., Casagrande Garage, G.S. Garage, INCAR (T), Integrated Transport Services Ltd., R.R. Transport Co Ltd. |
| Chemical and Oil | AGIP (T), Tanzania Chemical Industries Ltd., TIPER |
| Agriculture | Buyuni Co., Corper Investment Ltd., Dofico Ltd. (Joint Venture), Genenter Ltd., Mondul Coffee Estates Ltd., Pollo Italia Tanzania Ltd. |
| Services | Alpina Co. Ltd., Archer's Ltd., Blue Africa Ltd., Chatu Boutique, Coastal Travels Ltd., Hippo Tours, Hotel Uroa Bay, Intermarine Group of Companies, Italian Services and Communication, Mawimbini Club Village, Msasani Slipway Ltd., Mtoni Marine Centre Ltd., Ocean System Ltd., Pink Shark Ristorante La Dolce Vita, Ristorante Mama Pierina, Tandala Hunting Safari, The House of Spice, Zanzibar Coral Reef Village |
| Others | - |

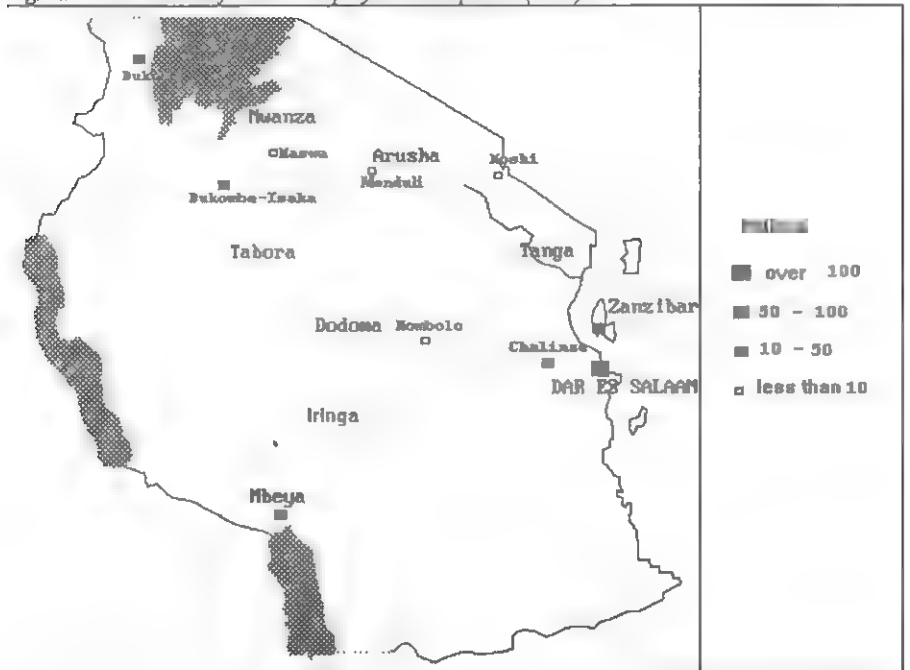
From the projects we pass to the Italian nationals who have greatly contributed to the successful termination of each and every initiative, and to those who still form part of our community and who are still engaged in activities with Italian and local companies. The

⁴⁰Mention is made in the 1980 study "Research on Italian technological Emigration of the 80's in Italy" (MAE 1983) The main industries undertaken by Italian companies abroad come under the umbrella of these two sectors. Consideration has to be given however to the fact that the area taken into account in the study was the whole of East Africa, i.e. Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda (inclusive), Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan - see page 92

greater part of this labor force has left the country according to their particular contracts which varied according to their skills and which determined the length of their stay. This is typical in the case of large-scale projects where the workforce is normally larger at the start of the project. As the work progresses, so the workforce dwindles, to the point where upon nearing completion, those remaining are basically the managerial and administrative staff, save for a few highly skilled technicians.

Locally registered Italian companies employ their personnel with no definite periods of contract. These companies however are not of the same size as those previously mentioned and are mainly family concerns which were established many years ago, e.g. V.BIASCI, ITALFRAME, and the COASTAL STEEL group of companies.

Fig. 5.2 - *Distribution of Italians employed in companies (1992)*



5.3 - ITALIANS IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

For the Italian nationals engaged in NGO activities, a considerable number of the Italian community present in Tanzania, the problems faced are similar to those experienced by the Italian companies previously mentioned.

In fact their stay is generally governed by the termination of the various projects; some short term, others not.

It has been observed however that the workforce referred to has been predominantly male and the age group for specialized staff ranges from 25-30 years, whereas in projects related to programmes of technical cooperation the age group appears to be from 35-40

years.

From the Table provided we can see that 60% of the staff engaged in projects of Health Cooperation belong to CUAMM (NGO) which launched its first programme back in 1968 in two mission hospitals situated at Ikonda and Tosamaganga.

Table 5.5 - *Italians employed in NGO's under Italian cooperation (families not included) (1991-1994)*

| NGO | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1993 | 1993 | 1994 | 1994 | 1994 | Place (1994) |
|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--|
| | | | M | F | T | M | F | T | |
| CEFA | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | - | 1 | - | 1 | Bomalangombe |
| COPE | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | - | 1 | 1 | Migoli |
| CUAMM | 36 | 22 | 9 | 5 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 9 | Ikonda, Lugarawa, Iringa, Mpwpwa, Kondo, Tosamaganga, Dodoma, DSM |
| LVIA | 2 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | - | - | - | Kongwa |
| SCSF | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | Usokami |
| FOCSIV | - | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | - | 2 | Lupembe |
| GAO | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | Arusha - Ngorongoro |
| CISP | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | Mbulu |
| CVCS | - | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | Mlali |
| Total | 46 | 39 | 16 | 16 | 32 | 14 | 7 | 21 | |

The first true project was initiated in 1977 through an agreement between the governments of Italy and Tanzania which resulted in the deployment of Italian medics to regional hospitals in Masasi, Songea, Kahama, Pemba and Dodoma⁴¹. Because of the positive results achieved, this NGO continued to expand and consolidate its activities, gaining respect and praise from local authorities. During the last couple of years, 1992 and 1993 a decline of 30% in medical personnel is to be noted, as a result of the stalling of the approval for new projects by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome.

Another NGO worthy of mention is CEFA which in 1980 began its activities by despatching a number of volunteers to oversee an integrated agricultural project in Matembwe (Njombe)⁴².

⁴¹For further details on CUAMM's activities in Tanzania, one should consult the periodical "CUAMM Notizie". Editions n.1 - n.2 1989 of particular interest in that they contain some special references to Tanzania. The book "Costruire a Sud del Sahara" by Stefano Illing and Giovanni Cappe' gives a very detailed account related to the noteworthy project concluded by CUAMM at the Iringa Regional Hospital (see pages 29-36).

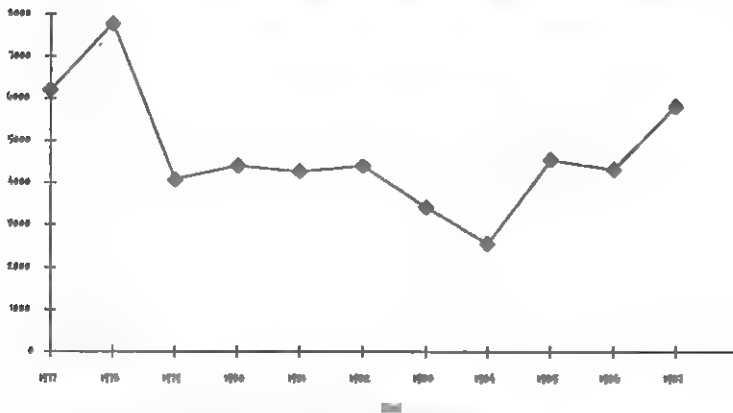
⁴²The story and an ample description of the characteristics behind the project are told in the book "Nella Terra dei Fiori di Tembwe" by Francesco Tosi, Quaderni CEFA, Nuova serie n.2.

6. - ITALIAN TOURISTS TO TANZANIA

Up to this moment the discussion has been focused entirely on the Italian community residing in Tanzania. Naturally, besides these there are also those who are here on short term missions or merely as visitors.

The numbers involved in the latter are far more difficult to estimate. With regard to the tourist data available from the Tanzania authorities we can deduce some approximate information from Graph 6.1.

Graph 6.1 -Italian Tourists in Tanzania (1977-1987)



Source: Ministry of Tourism of Tanzania

The tourist flows were seriously affected in the seventies by the attitude of the Tanzanian authorities which did not wish to exploit this sector.

Today, approximately 25 years later, this attitude has changed for the better, tourist numbers having almost hit bedrock in the mid eighties.

Italians visiting Tanzania in 1991, the last year for which figures are available, represented 4% of the total tourist influx to the country. This percentage, consisted of 7,385 individuals⁴³.

Our fellow-countrymen tend to travel abroad on holiday en masse in two specific periods: the European summer months (July-September) and the winter period (December-February). Their length of stay is on average between 2 weeks and 1 month and their main interest is in visiting the National Parks in the north and in more recent years, the beach resorts of Zanzibar.

A major contributing factor encouraging tourists, in particular, is the presence of a number of holiday villages presently owned and managed by Italian companies. Others are still under construction.

⁴³In the same year most of the tourists who visited Tanzania came from Kenya (34,790), United Kingdom (19,757), USA (14,807), Scandinavian countries (14,194) and Germany (8,332).

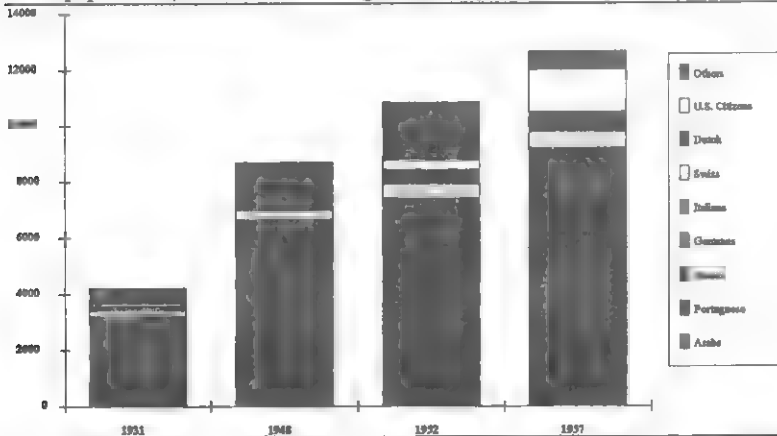
7- CHARACTERISTICS OF OTHER FOREIGN COMMUNITIES IN TANZANIA.

For historical reasons various foreign communities exist in Tanzania. Variations in the sizes of such communities have in the past been tied to colonial events, while in more recent times they have been considerably influenced by the level of existing cooperation between the different countries⁴⁴.

At the beginning of the century the largest foreign community was naturally constituted by the Germans, Tanganyika being one of their colonies. In 1904 the white population was composed of 1,437 persons, among whom were 1,102 Germans, 80 French (almost all religious of the congregation of "White Fathers"), 57 British, 57 Greeks and 30⁴⁵ Italians (Chiesi, 1902, page 779).

In order to have an idea of how the foreign presence in Tanganyika evolved in the course of this century it is sufficient to examine Graph 7.1. It refers to the data surveyed in the course of the four censuses of the foreign population (i.e. non-native), conducted by the British Administration. Data concerning the British community are not included, while the Arab component, mainly coming from Zanzibar, is substantial⁴⁶. Remarkable likewise are the data concerning the Portuguese population composed of those who moved from the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, in particular from Mozambique.

Graph 7.1- *Composition of the foreigners in Tanganyika according to the data of the Cens of the non native population (1931-1957, excluding nationals of the colonial power)*



Source: Tanganyika territory- Report on the Non-Native Census, years 1931, 1948, 1952, 1957

By examining the foreign presence you notice how in the census of 1931 the German community is still very significant, despite the re-entries having followed the end of the First

⁴⁴Concerning the influence of technical cooperation on migration flows it is worth mentioning the Chinese case. In the seventies, during the construction of the railway which links Tanzania with Zambia (TAZARA) the number of Chinese people in Tanzania reached the 10,000 units

⁴⁵The Italians were 35 according to the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁶The data concerning people of Arab origin are not available for 1931.

World War. The Greek community is also particularly substantial and increasing in size until the end of the fifties. The Italians were not very numerous in the thirties but they constituted, in 1952, 10% of the foreigners present in Tanzania.

With the independence of Tanganyika and the following constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania many changes in the composition of the foreign population took place. The flows linked to the programmes of cooperation increased, in particular from the Scandinavian countries.

It has to be noted that the data of 1992 contained in Table 7.1 are estimates made by the various diplomatic missions. Even though the data are not precise, they provide an idea of the consistency of the phenomenon and above all they allow a comparative evaluation of the Italian presence in Tanzania.

It has to be underlined that our presence, as previously mentioned, dates to the period preceding independence, as does that of the German, British and Greek communities. The latter has suffered a notable reduction compared to their numbers in the fifties when the Greeks constituted one of the largest communities. As regards the other foreign communities present, numbers are linked to the policies of cooperation beginning from the seventies, as in the case of the Scandinavian countries, of China and, more recently, Japan.

Table 7.1 - *Estimate of the size of the main foreign communities in Tanzania (OECD countries, Russia and China - 1994)*

| <i>Country</i> | <i>Size 1979</i> | <i>Size 1994</i> |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Germany | 600 | 1,500 |
| United Kingdom | 950 | 1,000 |
| Sweden | 500 | 800 |
| Denmark | 400 | 500 |
| Norway | 200 | 400 |
| Finland | 200 | 400 |
| Greece | 150 | 140 |
| Italy | 754 | 800 |
| United States | n.a. | 800 |
| Japan | n.a. | n.a. |
| China | n.a. | 700 |
| Netherlands | 700 | 800 |
| Russia | 1,000 | n.a. |

Source: Data 1979 from MAE, *Aspetti e problemi dell'emigrazione italiana all'estero* (1980).

8. FINAL REMARKS

The analysis of the Italian community in Tanzania identifies some of the characteristics typical of all the minor communities to be found in developing countries.

The small Italian community in Tanzania is typified by its extreme fluidity created by the brief periods of residence of many Italians due to technological migration. The problems and reasons correlated to this phenomenon have on many occasions been amply described in the 2nd National Conference on Emigration, with particular emphasis on the necessity of providing adequate political and financial guarantees to Italian companies and their personnel engaged in developing countries.

The initiatives, activities and the work carried out by the Italians in Tanzania has emphasized that the engagement of our fellow-countrymen has been considerable and characterized by that ingenuity, ability to adapt and self sacrifice which the Italians abroad have often shown. Unfortunately the achievements that remain to testify to their work do not always render justice to our fellow-countrymen and are not always known or appreciated. Historical events have sometimes rendered the task more difficult, but the Italians have often demonstrated their capacity to "do" rather than to "celebrate what has been done."

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